1: Burrows--93 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591 Ifalik

"All of the households which are not strictly matrilocal extended families include some deviation from matrilocal residence. To find out the extent to which this rule is observed, the type of residence exemplified by all the 60 married couples living on Ifalik in 1947-8 was reviewed. One case was not clear. Of the 59 others, 41, just under 70%, were matrilocal. Six were patrilocal, living on the husband's ancestral homestead. Twelve couples were heterolocal, living in various other places. Breach of the rule of matrilocal residence came to the rather high total of 18 couples, 30.5% of the total."

"In order to bring out any common factor underlying cases of departure from matrilocal residence, the membership of households that include such cases is listed below. They are divided into three categories: (1) those which constitute extended families of the matrilocal type, but are not matrilocal in residence; (2) those which include a matrilocal extended family, but have some additional members who are not living matrilocally; and (3) those which include no examples of matrilocal residence. Most of the data were supplied by Spiro from his genealogies. Each case begins with the name of the homestead on which the group is living. Then follows, in parentheses, the name of the clan to which the site is said to belong; then the personnel of the household.

1. Households consisting of extended family of matrilocal type, but not exemplifying matrilocal residence:

Atielu (Sauwēl). A man, his wife, and her sister. The property belonged to his clan, but was not his childhood home, so residence is heterolocal rather than patrilocal. If these people had not gone there to live, the homestead would have been unoccupied.

Uluās (Sauwēl). A family: man, wife, and one child. The property belonged to his clan, but was not his childhood home. If he had not set up a new household by moving there, the homestead would have been unoccupied. [94]

Metalegop (Bwēl). A family: man, wife and one child. The property belonged

to his clan: it is not clear whether he was brought up on it. If the family had not gone there to live, the homestead would have been unoccupied.

2. Households consisting of a matrilocal extended family, with additional members not matrilocal in residence:

Nimau (SauvelārIk). In addition to three women of the Sauvelārik clan, who apparently had been brought up here, the occupants included two families without hereditary claim to this homestead. The wives in these families are sisters, of the Mangaulevār clan. Why the families came to live here was not specifically stated. But if the household had not had some such addition, there would have been no men in it to perform the men's work necessary for subsistence.

Faleolarik (Kailangailuk). In addition to a typical extended family, the occupants included the chief Maroligar (SauvelārIk), his wife (Mangaulevār), and their adopted daughter. Their claim to the site--one rather remote from the native rule of inheritance--was that the homestead had been that of Maroligar's father. Apparently living here rather than on his wife's ancestral homestead was a matter of convenience.

Alingeliu (Sauwel). In addition to a rather complex extended family, including four adopted children, this homestead was occupied by a woman of Kovalu clan, with her daughter and the daughter's husband. They

moved there after the death of a son of the older woman. No reason was given except her wish; but she made herself most useful by taking care of the numerous small children of the household.

Apilimat (SauvelārIk). In addition to two unmarried or widowed women who were brought up here, there were the following occupants:
(a) a woman from Faleolārik (Kailangailuk), with her husband and children. She may have been adopted into this household.
(b) A woman from Nimau (SauvelārIk), distantly related to this household. (c) A family-husband, wife, and two daughters-- none of whom had any hereditary claim to this homestead. Their reason for living here is not known.

Weluāra (Mangaulevār). In addition to a rather large extended family, the occupants of this homestead included a family of outsiders. The wife (hence the children) was of Rapevelū clan. The husband was of Mangaulevār, but from another homestead, Arotrang. No particular reason for their presence here was learned.

Falitrēl (SauvelārIk). In addition to an extended family, this household included an unmarried woman, whose connection was uncertain, and a married couple, whose only claim to the homestead was a distant relationship

to the woman. She was of SauvelārIk clan, but had come from another homestead.

Fanneserax (Kailangailuk). In addition to a rudimentary extended family-two sisters who grew up here and the husband of one of them--the occupants were as follows:

(a) A widow from Nimau (SauvelārIk). Her husband had been of this clan. She had come here to live with him--a case of patrilocal residence--and had stayed on, with her three children, after his death. [95]

(b) One of (a's) sons and his wife, who came from Woleai. This was one of two reported cases of patrilocal residence after an interisland marriage. *

(c) A woman of Sauwēl clan, with her husband and their adopted son. She belonged to Alingeliu homestead next door and had moved

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"* The other was that of a woman from Bwagolei, a SauvelārIk homestead no longer inhabited in 1947-8. She had married a man from Elato and gone there to live with his people. Cases of interisland matrilocal residence were not collected, but were more numerous."

here, it was reported, just because she chose to, regardless of custom.

3. Households which include no examples of matrilocal residence.

Foraik (Sauwel). The line that traditionally occupied this homestead died out. The site was occupied by two women of Kovalū clan with their families. They moved in from Welipeien, next door.

Uarigīn (Rapevelū). The only member of this household who was brought up here is the chief Toromann. He brought his wife to live on his homestead, a case of patrilocal residence. They have a son and a daughter. The daughter is unmarried. The son also brought his wife (Kovalū) to this homestead. By means of these two cases of patrilocal residence, the homestead has remained occupied and suitably manned.

Falūn (Sauwēl). The line that traditionally occupied this homestead died out. The occupants were a bachelor and a family. The bachelor's claim to the site was that his paterpal grandfather lived there. The woman of the family had some similar, rather remote connection with the site. The reason given for this choice of residence was that the occupants wished to resettle this homestead, which had been deserted.

This list of deviations from matrilocal residence indicates that the main reason behind it is depopulation. The occupants of a homestead, according to the pattern of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence, die off. The homestead is kept occupied, or re-occupied, either by switching to patrilocal residence, or by acting on some more remote, sometimes quite far-fetched claim; or even without any hereditary claim to the site at all. In the case of men who keep their ancestral homestead occupied by bringing their wives there to live, a sentiment favoring continued occupation of the old homestead may be one of the motives. Another, which may be involved in all cases, and seems the most likely one when no hereditary claim in involved, is simply a wish to take advantage of the availability of a desirable site. Whether matrilocal residence would be more consistently observed if the population were constant or increasing, is a pertinent question. But no answer can be given from the data on Ifalik, where the population is diminishing. While depopulation seems to be the main reason for residence other than matrilocal, it is not the only one. Although matrilocal residence is customary, it is not insisted upon. Residence elsewhere is not condemned or punished. In Sumner's terminology, matrilocal residence is one of the folkways, but--unlike clan exogamy--not one of the mores."

1: Burrows--95-96 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591 Ifalik

"Married men, as a rule, have two households. One is the household of the mother, sisters, and maternal ancestors, ordinarily the one in which a man was brought up. By analogy with a term in common use for family, this may be called the household of orientation. (In exceptional cases, as has been seen, the household of orientation may be other than that of the mother and her lineage.) The second is the household of a man's wife and her lineage, ordinarily that in which he lives with his family after marriage. This, according to the same [96] terminology, is his household of procreation. Even if he does not live there, he is closely linked to this household through his wife and children.

Women have, typically, only one household. They live on the same homestead all their lives, so for them the household of orientation and that of procreation are the same. In the comparatively few cases in which residence after marriage is patrilocal, it is the woman who has two households, the man who has only one. In other exceptional situations, where residence is heterolocal, both husband and wife may be said to have two households.

In any of these cases, an individual has close ties with more than one household. A man's welimwales--the women and children for whom he feels responsible--includes his mother and sisters, and his sisters' children, as well as his wife and own children."

1: Burrows--96 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Children who belong to the majority so far as their pattern of residence is concerned, --that is, who live in their mother's household and have not had their relationships complicated by adoption--feel a strong secondary relationship with their father's household of orientation. This is expressed in at least one formal pattern of behavior. The rite of passage called taurang, on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation, is celebrated at the homestead where she lives, ordinarily her mother's. But the women who bedizen her with turmeric paint, skirts, and necklaces, come both from that household and from her father's household of orientation. At the close of the ceremony, the girl, with all these women and any other women and children who may care to attend (men are not forbidden, but take no formal notice of these affairs), parades from her homestead to the ancestral homestead of her father. The four days of isolation which custom requires during menstruation are then spent in the menstrual hut on her father's homestead. After that, she may spend these periods either on her father's homestead or on her own. This particular custom is apparently recent, as formerly there was only one, or at most only a few places of seclusion for menstruating women on the whole atoll. But the parade, which also apparently symbolizes her relationship to both households, is ancient, as far as we know."

2: Damm et al. --75 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 591 Ifaluk

The man always goes to his wife's house and sleeps there. He also has a right to claim a share of the property of his wife's family. If several children appear in the course of time, the husband's sister takes some of them in her house, in other words, in the house of his father. If that is too small, possibly because it is inhabited by several married sisters, a second dwelling house is erected beside it.

2: Damm et al. --189 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 591 Faraulep

The husband goes to his wife's house, and works there; but occasionally he visits his parents too. At first the bride pays little attention to the housekeeping, for the parents do everything for the young couple; later the married daughter helps too. The young wife does not bother about the house of her parents-in-law; she usually just goes there when they have something to eat.

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 591, 428 Elato

The woman is the owner of the house. When he marries, the man goes to live in the house of his wife (see Truk); an exception to that rule may be that he continues to live in his own house, which upon his death is inherited by the next oldest man of the family of the husband. The children are the heirs of the mother. The eldest son leads the list and then follow the younger boys, who have first claims before their sisters.

6: Senfft--55
116, 591

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Most young couples live in the house of the parents.

"We may now examine the broader aspects of the interraction of children with their peers. From infancy through the latency period boys and girls play together, and comprise play groups. These groups are usually comprised of all the children of one district, though may at times include children from the other district of the island, as well. But rarely will a child from one island play with the children of another island, and never will he be a regular member of their play group. This does not mean that the play groups are formalized or structuralized, because they are not. It means that children of one district play together because of the factor of geographic contiguity, and thus patterns of interraction are created between them in terms of dominance, subordination, etc. But it is not only contiguity that creates the formation of these children's play groups. The adults deliberately restrict their mobility. A child under 9 or 10 is not permitted free access to the entire village, and never does he go from his district to another, unless accompanied by an older boy or girl, or an adult. This means that only children who establish intimate contacts with children outside of their own district are the aevam, adopted outside of their district who spend time both in their biological and foster parental homes. The other children see little of each other except at public gatherings--economic, political, religious. When adults are asked for the reasons for these restrictions on mobility, they give two answers. First, the parents want the children near them so that

they can instruct them in certain skills, whereas if the children were constantly away, they would never learn. Second, the children might break something belonging to a stranger in another district.

This restriction on mobility is carried through into adult life. It is on rare occasions that inhabitants of one island visit the other, or even another district. Except for the women of Felarik to Falalap to work the taro patch, or the men in either island collecting their toddy from their inherited trees which may be in another island, they remain in their own districts. And, as we shall see, this pattern is reflected in the choice of a mate, who is usually chosen from one's own island."

"In choosing a spouse, both the man and woman (ideally) weigh the economic skills of the future mate. A man who is a poor fisherman or otherwise economically unskilled, a woman who can not cook well or is not adept at making skirts, would be considered a very poor marriage prospect. There is at least one woman in Ifaluk who has never been married because the natives insist she is a 'fool fellow', that is, domestically unskilled, and there have been two cases of divorce for the same reason.

The two desirable features that a person looks for, therefore, is economic skill and sexual attractiveness. But it seems that both desiderata are fairly universally found among all the people for an ecological study of the island of Felarik reveals an interesting phenomenon: Of the sixty-six marriages in the genealogies (the total number of marriages on this island), fifty-five, or more than eighty-three percent were consumated between individuals living in the island. Only eleven individuals married a person from the island of Falalap. And of the fifty-five, sixty-three percent of the total chose mates from within their own districts. This high percentage of local endogamy means that a high percentage of the people marry the girl who lives next door. This has two important implications: It means that all the people of one district are close relatives, either through birth or marriage, partly explains the degree of intimacy, and cooperation that exists between them. And it also means that your spouse may have been your childhood playmate, with whom you have grown up, or a young girl whom you had seen grow from

infancy, whose every character and personality trait you know well, so that you enter into marriage with an intimate knowledge of your mate.

I said above that your spouse is a woman whom you observed grow from infancy, for study reveals that the ages of the mates are often widely separated. When we first arrived in the island, I was struck by the great discrepancy between the number of [132] young men as contrasted to young women.

There were a considerable number of single men, but practically no single women their age, and when I asked Talimera to bring me some tari-veivel to draw for me, he replied that there were none. It was not until many months had passed that I realized my error. I had incorrectly guessed at the ages of the young married women. When I got to know the people, and had obtained information on relative chronological ages, I discovered that the young women, who corresponded in age to the young single men, were all married. Most of the young women marry in early adolescence, whereas the boys do not marry until their early twenties. This means that the girls marry older, often men one generation removed from them. (13)"

"13. This also indicates the precocious maturation of the girl, as compared to the boy. Girls that I had thought were in their early twenties, I later found out to be younger sisters of the young men that I spent my time with. This early maturation continues into old age. Women age much more rapidly than men. Middle aged women look like old women, as compared to their husbands who maintain a very youthful appearance."

"When a couple decides to marry, each party tells his own parents of his decision. The parents may object, but the young people may choose to ignore their objections. The only consequence of their objection, therefore, is that the couple will not live in the girl's parental home, should her parents object. The incidence of parental objection, however, is negligible. On a day decided in advance, there is an exchange of gifts between the two families. The girl's mother brings food, usually cooked taro and breadfruit to the boy's family, after which the boy's family offers coconuts to the girl's family. The boy himself brings gifts of rope toddy and fish to the parents of the girl. The food brought to the house of the boy is distributed to members of his clan. (14) [133] However, there is no public ceremony or gathering, or religious rite, the exchange of food constituting the consummation of the marriage. Should either family feel that it had given less food than the other, it will add to its gift the following day. The first night of their marriage the couple sleeps in the house of the boy's parents. They may remain longer, if they choose,

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"14. In the event that the girl is widowed, the boy's family bring gifts of food and skirts to the family of her deceased husband."

but after some lapse of time, they move to the home of the girl's parents, where they take up residence, though matrilicality is not the invariable rule.

Of sixty-six marriages studies in the genealogies in the island of Felarik (which includes the two districts of Rauau and Felarik), forty-two, or sixty-three percent, were matrilocal. The remaining twenty-four were patrilocal, autolocal, or aevam local.

The newly-weds resume their normal routine after marriage, there being no analogue to the western honeymoon. (15)"

"15. The informants were intrigued by the description of the American honeymoon, and indicated their approval by profuse 'erats' (very good), 'one week, only chow, only copulate.)"

28: Spiro--136 a
116, 562, 611, 591, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"By this time I had become intimate enough with the chiefs, to be able to point up difficulties or problems in their interpretations. I asked whether the two factors of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence did not indicate female superiority. This, they responded triumphantly, proves the superiority of men. For if there were only women in the house, they would live miserable lives. The houses would be small and there would be no fish to eat, since canoe and house construction, as well as fishing, is man's work. Thus if there were no matrilocal residence, the women would only 'chowchow, but no chow fish.'

The fallacy in the argument is obvious, but I admitted its validity, and then pointed out that they had answered only the matrilocal, not the matrilineal objection. To this they looked quite chagrined, and finally said, 'you talk true.' They were then silent for a long time, as if they were all meditating. Finally, Wolpatau, the highest ranking chief, came forth with a new argument, which we all accepted as incontrovertible. Men are superior to women because only men are chiefs, and women cannot be chiefs (unless there are no men in the chiefly lineages)."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby